Chapter XII

The Hottentots

[170] The seventeenth century Dutch gave the aborigines of the Cape of Good Hope region the name "Hottentot" because of their peculiarly clicking language. According to contemporary authors "Hottentot" was an insulting term for a stutterer. This nickname has stuck to the people.

As far back as their history extends, the Hottentots have never united in one nation. Even the oldest Dutch [171] settlers at the Cape report of tribal wars. In addition to this, beginning with the seventeenth century, the Hottentot tribes were pressed back by the white race from the south and in the nineteenth century by Bantu invasions from the north. As the Hottentots were thus compressed into an ever narrowing area, increasingly bitter battles for pasture grounds and water holes resulted and the processes which for ages have commingled the yellow-skinned nomadic tribes of South Africa were accelerated: migrations over an extensive area; the scattering of related elements; and the union of unrelated ones into a new tribal community under a new leader. We will not enumerate the tribes which succumbed during these struggles; the sources of their oldest history are obscure. The best accounts of the past century are missionary reports. (65)

65. Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Barmen.

We can pass over the few remnants of the Hottentots that are left in the present Cape colony: they are vanishing, physically debased and spiritually estranged from their people in customs and language. They are the Korana and the Griqua and a few families scattered among the Boer farms that work as day-laborers. Only north of the Orange River a number of Hottentot tribes remained strong and relatively pure, linked with the tribes or hordes who had fled across the great river to escape pressures of civilization. Both, the aborigines and the refugees, were undisputed masters of Great Namaland up to the beginning of the eighties. Now fate has also caught up with them. The tribes, still important political factors before their last attempt at revolt, will be distinguished by name for only a short period. As history has taught, the differentiation of the tribes disappears with the capaincies (that greatest danger to peace which has now, we hope, finally been removed). Of the Hottentot tribes north of the Orange, with whom we first became more closely acquainted about the middle of

1: Schultze--65 N-5 (1903-1906) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Under normal rainfall conditions these wanderings to the pastures (*Weide-*, v.) are regulated as to timing and goal by years of experience. During droughts, finding pasturage is more difficult and more urgent and more families than usual prepare for wandering. We know enough cases when the entire tribe has left its dwelling place. For an extensive journey, the hut is taken down and packed with poles, mats and household goods on oxen. The well-to-do Hottentot owns an ox wagon, of that well-known heavy kind, of 10 to 22 span, which the Boers introduced into South Africa. Before that time, the wandering Hottentot is supposed to have made a bed of strong branches on which he packed his reed mats, skins and household goods, harnessed oxen in front of it which then dragged the whole affair as if it were a sled. Just as the wagons supplanted pack-oxen, so have horses nearly supplanted oxen in Namaland as mounts. Nevertheless one still sees oxen [254] whose nostrils are pierced for the wooden bridle.

Thus, the Hottentot sets forth for the pastures riding and by wagon, if possible. The half-grown children have to drive the calves and smaller animals. They must drive them slowly, so that the animals can keep grazing and the lambs can keep up. Therefore it is customary for those who drive the small animals to leave early in the morning before the old people. The cattle are usually driven too quickly for them to graze properly while moving and therefore are left in the fields overnight.

Two hundred and fifty years ago the Hottentots were the wealthiest cattle owners in South Africa from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Cape of Good Hope. Van Riebeeck was a sober observer who didn't write his diary for the entertainment of the public. When he says (69) that at

69. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck's Journal, Part I - III, Cape Town, 1897.

times in the area of Table Mountain the land was covered with cattle as with grass, we may believe him. In the first decades of the nineteenth century herds of cattle and sheep containing many hundreds were still not unusual. At that time it seems that the Bushmen did most of the hunting. Today part of the Hottentots have sunk to the level of their despised enemies and serfs. Today the Hottentot must

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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occupies approximately two fifths of this area. In the past the northern limit of the Nama was indefinite until the pressure from the north by the Herero became serious, and certainly since the early part of the last century the Nama have been chiefly concentrated in the area of Great Namaqualand. This country is a high level plateau, or tableland, with an average altitude of 3,500 feet above sea level. Along the coast there is a strip of absolute sandy waste, of varying width but averaging about 35 miles across. The country rises rapidly from the coast inland, and the central tableland is cut off from the desert strip, or Namib, by a plateau range of sandstone formation running from north to south with an average height of 4,500 ft. The northern boundary is formed by the Awas mountains, a rugged mass of primary formation rising to a height of 7,200 feet above sea level and forming the watershed of the country. The rainfall over the whole area is extremely small, averaging from 4 inches in the south to 12 inches in the north. The country is, then, on the whole a barren plain with sparse vegetation and little permanent water. Yet after a season of sufficient rains it becomes a waving sea of grass, admirably suited both to cattle and sheep.

Such is the home of the nomadic pastoral Nama who originally owned great herds of large-boned, long-horned cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. Before the coming of the missionaries these people wandered about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their stock. Large permanent fountains, or pools in river beds were claimed as their property by the different groups, rather than areas enclosed by definite territorial boundaries.

There are at present in the Protectorate, besides remnants of the various groups of the Great Namaqua with which this paper is mainly concerned, remnants of other groups who came in from the south of the river in the early part of the nineteenth century, when the general movement of the Hottentot peoples was away from the white settlements. These incoming groups spoke practically the same language as the Nama groups; indeed, the language throughout the area is very similar, so that one can hardly even speak of dialects, though undoubtedly there is a slight difference of vocabulary in the widely separated groups and, in some cases, a slightly different intonation.

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175 some cases, a slightly different intonation. These incoming groups were remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, before their migration received a considerable [191] infiltration of white blood. A great many of the men also spoke Dutch and the general culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are 175 called collectively Oriams by the indigenous people, a name the 101 origin of which is doubtful. They penetrated into the territory of their kinsmen, at first peacefully by paying a small tribute for the use of the water of certain fountains, but later there was a great deal of fighting between the different sections, and the Oriams in the second half of the 19th century certainly had the upper hand in every way owing chiefly to their prior possession of firearms. The chief of these incoming groups are the Africaners (*//Aixa //aixe*), the Witbooi (*/Hoboxa*), the Bethany Hottentots (*/Awaxa*), the Berseba Hottentots (*/Hei /Khauxa*), the Amraal Hottentots (*Gei /Khauxa*). It will be seen that the Dutch names for these groups are taken partly from the names of their chief settlements, e.g., Bethany, Berseba, partly from their chief leaders, Africaner, Amraal, Witbooi. The Hottentot names are [173] taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g., */Khauxa* from the personal name, */Khauxa*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older branch or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*/hei*). On the other hand, the Witboois have a Hottentot nickname, */Hoboxa*, from */hobe* or */howe*, lazy, which they do not like at all. For most of the names of these groups, or "tribes," as I shall call them later, it is not now possible to find any clear meaning, nor are the names thought of as having any meaning by the people themselves; they are proper names and no more.

173 The indigenous people were in historical times divided into 101 seven main groups, with one or two subsidiary ones which are known to have been late offshoots from these main groups. According to the traditions of these people they are all descendants of one line of ancestors. One form of this legend was told to me by Abraham Kaiir, a headman of the Bondelswarts, in 1915. There

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connection. They mean the big group of *//Khauas*, and the young group, or, literally, the children, of the *//Khauas*. The derivation of the name *//Khauas* I do not know. The Topnaars, or the *≠Aonin*, are the people of the point, referring to their inhabiting the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Nama. An alternative name is the *!Gawin* of which I do not know the meaning.

All these groups which I have enumerated I propose to speak of as "tribes," for, in spite of their claim to a common ancestry, these groups have been for a long time independent of one another. Each group has its acknowledged chief and its acknowledged fountains, though before the coming of the white man and of the Orlams the boundaries between the different groups were not marked in any clear manner. In an old document, translated in the Rhenish Missionary Record for 1854,[6] the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his fountains. He gives them permission to stay, but states specifically that this does not mean that he gives over the fountain to them; "the water is my water," he says again and again. We shall also see a little later that the different water holes, or fountains, in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific groups. This did not mean that other people could not use this water, but that one group had a prior claim to it established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for long would ask permission to do so.

A certain light is thrown on the antiquity of these different divisions of the Nama people by the record of the travels of the Frenchman, Le Vaillant. Travelling north of the Orange river in 1783, he came to an encampment of Hottentots who called themselves Gomi no Khoin.[7] The place to which he went, and the name, both point to the fact that he found himself among the *!Gomi ≠Nun*, or *!Gomi ≠Nu Khoin* (*Khoin* meaning "people"), so that at least as early as 1783 the *!Gomi ≠Nun* formed a distinct group.

[6] p. 188.

[7] F. Le Vaillant, Second Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique, Vol. II, p. 301. The author spells the name "Cammiesquain."

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present day some of these tribes are extinct; that is to 175
At tribal unity is totally destroyed, though one may still
say, the as individuals claiming to belong to one or other of these 177
come actut even where there is still a small remnant of people
tribes. gether under the leadership of a man whom they regard
holding tman, or chief, the whole culture and power of the Nama
as a heavily destroyed. The history of all these tribes for the
is hopefears has been one of incessant strife, first among them-
last 150 ring to the dislocation caused by the incoming of the
selves, om the south; next with the Hereros, a Bantu tribe
tribes fr on them from the north; and last with the Germans
advancing broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except
who finae of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to
in the cract with the Germans and never fought against them.
their cone tribes, further, have a great deal of mixed blood, 144
All thto them first by their own relatives from the south,
brought by mixture with the Germans. The generation which
and thenup to-day in the Protectorate is practically all of mixed
is growin
blood. egard to the numbers of these people, it is extremely 161
Withve any trustworthy figures. Palgrave, who was sent
hard to maqualand as a Special Commissioner by the Cape
up to Nat in 1876, to report on whether it was advisable for
Governmnment to assume responsibility for the territory, gives
that grou of the various tribes as follows.* The figures are
the figure: *Gai //Khauon* 2,500, *≠Aonin* 750, *//O Gein* 800,
approxim Goan 1000, *//Hoboben* 1800, *!Khara Gei Khain* 800,
//Khau an 2000, Africaners 800, Witbooïs 2500, Bethany
Gami ≠ 2000, Berseba Hottentots 700, Gobabis Hottentots
Hoffnungther, with a few groups not known to-day, the number
600. Also 16,850. In 1921, the census returns estimated a popu-
in 1876 w0,000 people called Hottentots,† but there was no
lation of discriminate the pure blooded from those of mixed
attempt

* W. Coaton Palgrave, Esq., of his Mission to Damaraland and Great
in 1876. Cape Town: Printed by Saul Solomon & Co., 1877. [G.
Namaqualan
30-77]. p.
† Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922, p. 10. [U. G. 21-1923].
FCE Ad

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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Thus the migrations of the Hottentots reveal the same characteristics which we find later in the migrating Herero. The Herero also moved southwards, after having crossed the Kunene. 174

The main force pushed down as far as the Swakop and wandered about in the pastures north of the Swakop, the southern part having already been occupied by the Hottentots. But the poorer Herero did not move down so far, but remained in the Kaokoveld up to this very day.

4. The names of those Hottentot tribes which migrated into the Cape Colony have partly been preserved in old documents, but unfortunately the spelling of the names of these tribes is so inaccurate that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct spelling of the names according to the Hottentot pronunciation, is no longer possible. Almost all names were written, not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person, masc., plur., which is ga in the accusative but gua in antique pronunciation, changed by old writers to qua which merely means "belonging to the masculine sex"—an indication of the small importance of the women in these nomadic tribes. 175 619

5. The following are the names of the different tribes (in the old spelling), that migrated into the region south of the Orange River:—

(i) Hesequa in the present district of Caledon;

(ii) Gorkoqua in the vicinity of Saldanha Bay;

(iii) Namaqua, north of the Hesequa.

(iv) Gorinhaiqua known as the "Kaplieden."

(v) Gorona, also written Gorequa, Gorachoqua, whose real name is !Khora, out of which Koranna has been made through the omission of the click and the addition of the suffix for the 3rd pers., plur., com. acc.

They led a roving life in the country between the Orange and Vaal. In 1813 the Rev. Mr. Campbell found them in the neighbourhood of Kuruman and Lithako. Later on they settled in Bethanie under influence of the Berlin Mission. In 1850 the tribe still consisted of approximately 20,000 souls under 17 chiefs. In 1870 the tribe had practically died out.

(vi) Damaqua who roamed about the Great Fish River.

(vii) Gonaqua, nomads on the Gamtoos River, probably as important as Gonnema, discussed elsewhere.

(viii) Chainoqua, often called "Kapmans."

(ix) Attaqua.

(x) Outeniqua, between the Gamtoos and Breede Rivers. Lichtenstein refers to them as the Uteniqa, doing more justice to the phonetic sounds in the name of the tribe.

(xi) Hanoeroqua in the Eastern Cape Province.

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(xii) Chariguriqua in the neighbourhood of St. Helena Bay. Obviously it is the same tribe elsewhere called the Gouriqua, from which the word Grigriqua is formed. The real name of the tribe was ǂKari-huriqua = *i.e.*, the small (= ǂKari-) tribe which lives at the sea (-hurib = sea). This tribe was afterwards known under the name Oriqua. In 1713 Peter Kolbe found them near St. Helena Bay. During the first half of the 18th century they wandered about in the neighbourhood of the present Clanwilliam. By then they had European blood in them. Later they mixed with nomadic Bastards. Consequently they called themselves Bastards with pride till Campbell induced them in 1813 to re-adopt their old, unfortunately mutilated and almost forgotten, name of Oriqua.

Under their chief, Adam Kok, they founded Griquatown in 1813.

6. Van Riebeek, the first Dutch Commander at the Cape, says of these Hottentots, that, generally speaking, they had as much intelligence as the common Hollander but were more cautious and more cunning than the latter and well knew how to take advantage of every opportunity.

The East India Company exercised great care in the maintenance of peaceful relations with the Hottentots.

Later developments and the inland migration of the Europeans caused the Hottentot tribes to retreat partly to the North, across the Orange River, to settle in the territories of their countrymen who had stayed behind, and to be partly absorbed by the mongrel races which had come into being in the meantime in the Cape Colony.

At present pure Hottentot tribes are found only in South-West Africa.

7. Eight tribes which did not cross the Orange River with their emigrating countrymen, but had wandered about between the Orange and Swakop Rivers, each separate tribe having taken possession of a large territory, settled in South-West Africa during the time of the old Hottentot emigrations. Six of these tribes entered into an alliance and formed a loosely-knitted entity under the leadership of the //Khauben. These, living in the centre of the territory, seem to have had a number of able leaders and chiefs.

The //Khauben, also called Gei-//Khaua, are now well-known under the name "Rode Natie." The allied tribes were called, and to this day call themselves, /Awa-khoin = Red people.

The names of the allied tribes are:

(i) //Khauben, also Gei-//Khaua or Rode Natie, with capital Hatsamas. The survivors of these tribes are now resident at Hoachanas. Among the twelve chiefs, whose names are still doubtful, Chief //Oaseb

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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was very prominent. As he was still under age at the time his father died, his sister, Gamos, took over the reign till he became of age. Thus in the years 1830-1840 this remarkable event came to pass that a woman ruled over six Hottentot tribes. 175 619

(ii) !Kara-gai-khoin also called "Franschmanneske Hottentots," known later as the Simon-Koper-Leute. They dwelt on the Oub River.

(iii) /Kara-!Gan, whose pastures were on the Chamob River.

(iv) //Hawoben whose tribal name should be translated into "Veldschoendragers" under which name they are referred to frequently in literature. They were domiciled North of (iii).

(v) //Khan-/gôan, *i.e.*, children of the tribe of the //Khauben, also called the "Zwartboois." They were stationed temporarily in Rehoboth till 1870, whence they removed to Amoib in the country of the Herero and are at present settled at Franzfontein in the southern part of the Kaokoveld.

(vi) //O-gein, *i.e.*, Great-Gaben. Their former pastures were those on the upper course of the Fish River. Half a century ago this tribe ceased to exist as a result of the wars against the Herero and the tribal quarrels.

These tribes, under the leadership of the //Khauben or the *Rode Natie*, claimed possession, on the grounds of tradition, of the whole territory bordering on Lake Ngami in the East, the Chamob River in the South, the Atlantic Ocean in the West and the Omaruru River and Ambo-land in the North.

(vii) Besides these six allied tribes the ǂOnaip, also called !Goman or !Naraip, known as the "Topnaars" from the translation of ǂOnaip, were settled in the territory of Walvis Bay. Probably these constitute the remnants of earlier coast-tribes. Hundreds of years ago their territory was still of vast dimensions. When Missionary Schmelen visited Okahandja and Walvis Bay in 1805, he found that the herds of the "Topnaars" were grazing as far as Okahandja. By the Herero in the North and West as well as by the Nama in the South this tribe was later confined to the small and barren territory of Walvis Bay.

(viii) The last of the free tribes are the !Nami-/naun or Bondelswarts who have retained their pastures in the South of Namaland, on the Orange River, and their old capital at Warmbad up to this day.

8. As the colonisation of the Cape Colony by European progressed, the Hottentot tribes, wandering about there, lost their desired freedom of action. Those who had absorbed

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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619 European blood or who had been servants on farms, etc., and had come in contact with western civilization and who could partly make themselves understood in the Dutch language, gradually migrated to the North, for they knew that beyond the Orange River their countrymen were still enjoying unlimited freedom.

So we see Hottentot settlements arise on the southern bank of the Orange River and missionaries hard at work trying to evangelise those who had emigrated. At Pella and other places flourishing Hottentot communities came into existence. But as the boundaries of the Cape Colony were extended to include them and besides Small Namaland was suffering from severe drought, in one year five rather large tribes crossed the Orange River in order to obtain land and pasturage in Great Namaland.

These emigrations from the Cape Colony were not of entire tribes, for amongst the names of the immigrating tribes we find none of the twelve tribes which we have already met in the Cape Colony. These migrations took place in this way: Any influential and strong personality would set out with some followers. On the way others, who were not satisfied with existing circumstances or who could no more reside in the Cape Colony as cattle thieves, because things got too hot for them or the boundaries too narrow, joined this leader.

As has already been said, most of them settled in Little Namaland which they were passing through on their way to cross the Orange River to look for a new fatherland in South-West, where they were called the "Orlams."

9. The derivation and the meaning of the word "Orlam" has not yet been determined. Professor Meinhof traces this word back to the Malay language and says that during the régime of the East India Company the conventional Indian word for old and trustworthy servants was "Orang-lami" = old people, and that this name has been assigned to Hottentot servants who were in settled employment.

The fact is that to-day the name Orlam is still used in a figurative sense for a handy and clever Nama in South-West Africa.

The Orlam tribe, containing many hybrids of Dutch descent, who had adopted something of European civilization, possessing horses and supplied even with firearms, made on the Namas who had never been in contact with civilization, the impression that they were highly developed people.

That the meaning "Outlander means" is also attached to the word Orlam by the Namas would lead one to believe that the word means foreigners, people coming from across the Orange River, *i.e.*, people who are "further off."

10. The five Orlam tribes have the following names:—

(i) /Khowesin, who emigrated from the Cape Colony, under their leader Kido Witbooi, and stayed at the

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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missionary station at Pella on the southern bank of the Orange River for quite a long time. By 1810 they had already crossed the Orange River and were roving about in the territory of the Fish River without fixed stations. They were called Witbooie after their leader. Some Christians among them insisted upon the founding of a fixed abode. Such a place was ultimately established at Kocha-tsus, in the present Gibeon. In the year 1862 they settled there and in 1863 a station of the Rhenish Mission was founded among them. As the Witbooie observed strict neutrality as far as the tribal quarrels amongst the Namas were concerned, they had to suffer much from raids of the *Rode Natie*. Could anyone then foresee that within a few decades the rule over the Nama tribe would be transferred from the Red Nation into the hands of the Witbooie? 175 619

(ii) Gei-/Khauan or Amral Hottentots, who settled at Neumannshie and a the eastern part of the Herero country, later in Gobabis.

(iii) ǂKari-/Khauan, or Berseba Hottentots, now resident at the foot of the Iroekkarros.

(iv) !Aman, or Hottentots of Bethanie.

These three tribes, the Gei-/Khauan, ǂKari-/Khauan and !Aman seem to have left the Cape Colony at the same time. For a time most of them settled in Little Namaland at the missionary stations Pella, Steinkopf and Komaggas. During that time grazing conditions were very bad there.

Schmelen, the German missionary of the London Missionary Society, urged them to migrate further into South-West. By order of his Society he left Little Namaland in 1814 and following the course of he //Gôa-/geb, now called the Konkip River, he, with a great number of the Orlams, settled at /Ui-ǂgams in Great Namaland, which place he called Bethanie. Later on Amral Lamberts and his people the Gei-/Khauan migrated to Neumannshie and Gobabis.

The !Aman remained in Bethanie and the ǂKari-/khauan, under missionary influence, settled at the foot of the Brukkaros in Berseba.

(v) The last Orlams who crossed the Orange River had the tribal name of the //Aicho-//ain = angry tribe. Their tribal history is very typical and may be sketched here.

In the Tulbagh district the so-called !Hantam there lived a little chief, 'Garuchamab by name, during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Between the years 1790-95 he left Tulbagh to settle permanently in the !Hantam near the present Calvinia. He had two sons, /Hâo-/arab and Titus.

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After the death of his father, /Hêa-/arab, with his brother as well as his followers went to stay with a farmer called Pienaar. This man gave him another name which could be pronounced more easily and called him Afrikaner. Pienaar treated his people badly, and it came to a rupture. Titus shot his master and Afrikaner's relations murdered Pienaar's wife and children and, fleeing, they drove all the cattle in the direction of the Orange River, not to be within reach of the Police and to be safeguarded against prosecution. These people possessed many rifles, for Pienaar, as farm Police, used to take his people with him on his notorious raids in order to clear the neighbourhood of Hottentot and Bushmen thieves.

These firearms gave this tribe a great superiority over their neighbours at the Orange River. They invaded Afrikanerkraal on the southern bank of the Orange River. Even Warmbad was assaulted by the Afrikaners and the missionary station burnt down.

The Cape Government set a price of £150 on Jager's head. While stationed at Afrikanerkraal Jager came in contact with some missionaries. Moffat, Livingstone's father-in-law, was working there from September, 1817, up to October, 1818, after the missionary Ebner had christened Jager and a number of his people on the 23rd July, 1815. In the year 1819 Jager, who was henceforth called Christian, made a journey to Cape Town in company of his missionary, where he was received by the Governor himself, pardoned and presented with a gift. Jager, alias Christian, died in the year 1823. He had conferred the Chieftainship on his energetic son Jonker, although it was not due to him. Jonker secured the greatest part of the retinue and moved northward, led a nomadic life and ultimately settled in Windhoek, where he subjugated the Herero and brought the Nama under his sway and died in Okahandja in 1861. His grave is covered with a heap of almost unrecognisable stones, just as the tribe of this " Napoleon of the South " has vanished without glory or even leaving a trace.

III. Wars and Decline.

175 721 1. Shortly after the invasion of the Oriam in about the year 1830, strenuous fighting was going on between the Nama and the Herero.

The Herero exhibited a tendency to rove further and further south and their cattle were already grazing as far as the territory of Rehoboth. The Nama, whose pastures had

already been limited by the immigration of the Orlam, showed a tendency to move from the south to the north and north-east and thus had to meet the Herero in the north and the Mbanderu in the north-east. Many battles were fought in which they fought for two things, extermination of the enemy and for the possession of his cattle. As a rule the Nama were less fortunate than the Herero in these pillaging expeditions. 175 721

2. In these distressing circumstances the female Chief of the Red Nation turned to Jonker Afrikaner, whose troops, although not many, were superior to the Herero by reason of the possession of fire-arms, while the latter still used to fight with arrow, bow, club and spear after the old fashion. Jonker in conjunction with the Red Nation and allied tribes drove the Herero back, wandered to and fro in Namaland for quite a long time and settled eventually in Windhoek about the year 1835. A man with very high aspirations and unbridled desires for power, he aimed at becoming sovereign chief of the Nama tribe and at the same time forcing the Herero under his sway.

For this purpose he chose his capital seat strategically, right between these two tribes in the centre of the country. At Christmas, 1842, a temporary peace was made between him and the Herero, but did not last long. Jonker was visited by traders who sold large quantities of brandy to him, furnished him with guns, gunpowder and lead, and advised him to settle his heavy accounts with cattle from the Herero herds. [728]

3. As early as 1846 Jonker broke the peace and made a renewed attack on the Herero, whose most powerful chief, Tjamuaha, lived in Okahandja. After a terrible massacre on August 22nd, 1850, at Okahandja, in which many Herero men were slain, and many women crippled to obtain the copper rings they wore round their legs, by chopping off their feet, the opposition of the Herero was so broken that Tjamuaha placed himself under Jonker's protection to save himself and his cattle, and the chief of the Herero became Jonker's first servant. The latter furnished him with guns and ordered him to rob his own subjects so as to enable Jonker to meet his trading debts.

At that time many Herero fled to the north with their herds, while others returned to the Kaokoveld so as to be safe from their own chief Tjamuaha, but Jonker, in order to make the suppression of the Herero complete, went to Okahandja.

4. When death overtook him thereon August 18th, 1861, he had attained through numerous raids and battles, what he aimed at; instead of the former predominance of the Red Nation, the Afrikaners were the leaders of the Nama tribe in war and in peace and the Herero had to pay tribute to the Nama. However, this supreme sovereignty did not last long. Tjamuaha, "Jonker's dog," also died. His successor was the determined Maharero, while Jonker was succeeded by the weakling, Christian Afrikaner.

175 721 Maharero left Okahandja all of a sudden and went to Otjimbingue, where he gathered all available Hereros round him. Christian feeling himself too weak unaided to seize him there, especially as Maharero had furnished his people with firearms, called the Nama tribes to his assistance. On June 15th, 1863, in a decisive battle at Otjimbingue the Nama were totally defeated and Christian, as well as the Chief of Bethanie, lost their lives.

[728] Christian's successor was Jonker's nephew, Jan Jonker Afrikaner. He also suffered many defeats from Maharero, till ultimately in 1870 the Peace of Okahandja was made, whereby Jan Jonker took possession of Windhoek in fee to the Hereros and pledged himself to observe peace.

5. There followed ten years of peace. It is worth noting that during this time Mr. Palgrave concluded treaties of protection with the Nama and Herero chiefs by order of the Cape Government, in order to restore peace to the disorganised country by bringing it under the supreme power of the Cape Government. Protective treaties were unknown to the Hereros and Nama and so much was promised on both sides that they were signed without much opposition by well-nigh all the chiefs, but new riots brought these treaties to a sudden end. While Palgrave was in Gobabis discussing the matter with the Nama chiefs there, some Herero herdsmen were slain by the Nama. Immediately after receiving this news Maharero had all Nama, residing in Okahandja, killed. This happened on August 23rd, 1880, exactly thirty years after the massacre by Jonker in Okahandja. He also gave orders for all Namas in Hereroland to be killed. A cry of indignation went up through all Namaland. Mr. Palgrave, who was afraid that his treaties with the Nama chiefs in Gobabis might induce chief Maharero to turn against him personally, went back to Walfish Bay as fast as possible and left the country, and as the Cape Parliament did not seem very anxious to bring restless South West Africa under its rule, nothing resulted from his mission.

6. The indignant Nama of almost all the tribes gathered round Jan Jonker Afrikaner. But the Hereros also mobilised and stormed Windhoek, the capital of the Afrikaners, and razed the mission station there to the ground. On the 11th and 12th of December in a fierce battle at Otjikango near Okahandja, the Nama were completely beaten. Jan Jonker just managed to save himself with a few Afrikaners, but his power was broken and the supreme power of the Afrikaners over the Nama passed into the hands of the Orlam tribe residing in Gibeon. Jan hid himself in the Gaus Mountains and wrought much damage to the Hereros by incessant pillaging expeditions.

7. Moses Witbooi, the chief of the Orlam at Gibeon then became spokesman and supreme ruler of the Nama. Imbued with a spirit of unendurable hatred against the Hereros he

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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instigated another campaign against them, which on September 22nd came to a battle. On both sides more soldiers had been raised than ever before. Again were the Nama defeated, and had to deliver up all waguns, ammunition and horses to the Herero. The missionary Hahn tried to establish peace on behalf of the Cape Government, but not one of the Nama chiefs was willing to participate in the peace negotiations, and a separate treaty only was entered into by the Herero and Rehoboth Bastards, who had taken over this territory from the Swartbooie ten years previously, and had had to suffer very much as a buffer state between the quarrelsome Nama and Herero. [175] [721]

8. Then Moses Witbooi decided to punish the disloyal Bastards who were thus compelled to cast themselves on the mercy of the Herero. The latter consequently again entered Namaland with their herds and the Nama were once more driven to defend themselves. In addition to this Moses Witbooi undertook marauding expeditions against the Bastards, never dreaming that for this he would have an opponent, in his own son, the clever and energetic teacher at Gibeon, Hendrik Witbooi, who wanted his father to restore the stolen cattle to the Bastards.

For this reason father and son fell out and Hendrik migrated to the south in order to furnish himself with ammunition and arms. In June, 1894, he was so well armed that he decided to undertake a campaign against the Herero with his own train of followers, which had been strengthened by an influx of Jan Jonker's people. If his father had done his utmost to secure the supreme reign over the Nama tribes after the Afrikaner tribe had become practically powerless, then Hendrik strove still more vigorously after it. It was not due so much to the hatred against the Herero that the teacher became an army leader, but to the conviction that he as conqueror of the Herero, which he believed himself to be destined for by God, could convincingly prove his qualification as supreme ruler of the Nama. Maherero, who had knowledge of everything that was going on and was determined not to be taken unaware by the Nama in Okahandja again, had already pitched a camp beyond the boundaries of Hereroland and awaited Hendrik. A fight lasting three days ensued in [72] which, however, neither side fought very enthusiastically; and so soon as the cry for peace was raised by the ranks of the Herero, Hendrik was not unwilling to accept that spirit on his side too, and to enter into a treaty of peace with the Herero. Points of issue were soon settled and Hendrik entered Gibeon as the great conqueror.

9. Evidently both sides were not very serious as regards this peace. Hendrik armed himself again and tried to increase his troops, and on October 16th, 1895, felt himself so strong that he tried to raid Okahandja, but did not succeed.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

175 At Osona, one hour south of Okahandja, a strenuous battle
721 was fought in which the Nama were utterly defeated, 130 horses, all the draught oxen, wagons and ammunition falling into the hands of the Herero and Hendrik just managed to escape with his life. Then Hendrik determined to take a sanguinary revenge. In 1886 he tried to take Okahandja by surprise, but he was driven back and as quite an exceptional case was pursued on the instigation of the Christian Herero and chased till in the vicinity of Rehoboth. His power was destroyed. Henceforth he indulged in mere marauding expeditions against the Herero. When in 1887 Chief Moses Witboi was murdered, Hendrik took over the captaincy of the tribe. After the murderer of his father had been slain, Hendrik, annoyed at the fact that Jan Jonker was still supreme ruler of the Nama, turned against him and also because he had received news of treation by Jan Jonker with Hendrik's opponents. Going in quest of Jan in his retreat on the Swakop, Hendrik killed him, ravaged his camp and returned to Gibeon. Thus came to its end the Afrikaner tribe which had once been so powerful!

The Red Nation also, disorganized for fear of Hendrik, after the death of their chief led a marauding life, and thus Hendrik arrived at a very favourable position towards becoming chief ruler of Namaland.

10. Hendrik had a permanent abode at Hoornkranz, north of Rehoboth. Convinced after a good many battles that he could not subdue the Herero in open warfare, he tried to weaken them by raids and marauding expeditions for which enterprises Hoornkranz was very favourably situated. Thereout only was he near the Herero herds, but could bring the booty easily into safety, and in the inaccessible ravines there was no need to fear the persecution of the Herero. From there he also attacked the southern Nama tribes, which failed to recognize him as their Chief, and he sent out a proclamation to all Nama chiefs in which he proclaimed himself Chief of all Namaland.

11. In this restless decade it happened that on August 6th, 1884, the German flag was hoisted at Luderitzbucht, that the Nama and the Herero chiefs entered into treaties of protection with the German Government, and that Windhuk was decided upon as the capital of South West Africa in order to serve as a wedge between the quarrelling tribes, and a small colonial force endeavoured to restore peace and order. On being summoned to enter a defensive alliance Hendrik opposed this stubbornly. He threatened to chastise the chiefs who had signed the document and thus remained, as he had been and still was, a danger to both the north and the south. On October 7th, 1870 Maharero died and his son Samuel became chief in his stead.

With anxiety Hendrik found that Samuel was entering into closer relationship with the Germans instead of with-

drawing from them and he thought it wiser to make peace with the Herero so as not to have to take up arms against two enemies perhaps later on. 175 721

Captain von Francois, Commissioner of the German Government, now prohibited the import of fire-arms and ammunition and made preliminary arrangements for the subjugation of Hendrik.

After the German Colonial force had been strengthened in 1893 he ventured to attack Hendrik in his mountain fortress, but it was his successor, Major Th. Leutwein, who eventually succeeded in his ultimate subjection towards the middle of September, 1894.

Hendrik then made a treaty with the representatives of the German Government whereby Gibeon was granted him as residence; he became recognised chief of the tribe and was compelled to join the army with his people on being summoned by the German Government. Up to 1904 Hendrik abided by this treaty and South West enjoyed a time of peace, except for a few minor disturbances and local rebellions. [728]

12. In October, 1903, the Bondelswarts, resident in Warmbad on the northern bank of the Orange River, attempted to free themselves from the suzerainty of the German Government. They were led by Morenga, whose father was an Herero and his mother a Nama. His assistant leader was Morris, the son of a European and a woman from the Bondelswart tribe. At the commencement Hendrik Witbooi, with 80 recruits, assisted in the suppression of the rebellion. The Governor, Leutwein, in order to suppress the riots in the south as soon as possible, had gathered all available troops from the north. The Hereros took their opportunity and in the beginning of January, 1904, Samuel Maharero gave the order for all farmers in the Herero country to be murdered. The whole of the Herero tribe rose in rebellion. On January the 27th, 1904, Leutwein concluded the Peace of Kalkfontein with the Bondelswarts whereby the Warmbad reserve was granted to them and they were compelled to deliver up 300 guns. [728]

By forced marches the troops went to the north. When, on August the 11th and 12th, at the battle at Waterberg, led by General Trotha, Leutwein's successor, the Hereros were annihilated, Hendrik Witbooi's troops were still on the side of the Germans.

13. Morenga at Warmbad did not abide by the terms of the peace of Kalkfontein, for during the first months of the Herero War he had disturbed the eastern boundaries of Namaland with his bands. When the rest of the Nama chiefs saw that he was successful, they also joined in the rebellion with the exception of the tribes at Berseba and Bethanie. Even Hendrik Witbooi lent his ear to a missionary of the Ethiopian Society from Port Elizabeth and participated in the hostilities.

175 721 The farmers were murdered and the farms robbed and plundered; but it was not until November, 1904, that the German troops could take the offensive. Though Hendrik's people suffered a heavy defeat at Kub on the 22nd of November, 1904, and sustained great losses in the battle at Naris on the 4th of December, yet their power was not yet broken. A guerilla war then went on until Hendrik ultimately fell on the farm Withoutmonde, near Vaalgras, and dying ordered his people to give up the struggle as he wished "his children to have peace."

14. However, the opposition of the remaining tribes was not yet done away with. Part of the Nama tribe of Bethanie hid themselves in the Tiras Mountains and wrought much havoc amongst the German troops, until Christian Goliath, the chief of Berseba, induced them to surrender. Morenga and Morris, as well as the Bondelswarts, continued the guerilla war, assisted by the rough nature of the country. Morenga's band, driven into a narrow corner, escaped the German forces by entering English territory, that is to say by crossing the Orange River and hiding themselves on its southern bank.

At last the Cape Government ordered Morenga to be arrested; which was done by Colonel Elliot on September 20th, 1907, not, however, before Morenga received a fatal wound in the skirmish that ensued.

The Nama under the leadership of Simon Kooper, who had escaped into the Kalahari, were still up in arms. After tremendous pains and a good deal of strategy they were also subdued by Captain Friedrich von Erabert, on whom the duty of their punishment had been imposed and who succumbed to a hostile bullet.

175 178 15. With this battle the war in Namaland terminated, and the rivalry between the chiefs came to an end, for the Nama realised that although they had it in their power to destroy one another, they could not withstand a European force; and they then resorted to peaceful cattle farming in the reserves around Warmbad and Berseba. The men set out to earn bread for themselves and their families on farms, the diamond fields at Luderitzbucht, and went into service in the quickly developing townships.

[128] [197] By the peace of Korab on July 7th, 1915, Namaland came under the Administration of the Union Government. The Evangelic and Catholic Mission has done splendid work in christianising and educating the different tribes. More than a thousand Nama children attend the missionary schools, which are fortunately supported and controlled by the Government. The Bondelswarts tribe, however, again manifested a tendency to revolt, but with no far-reaching effects, as their prompt suppression safeguarded the rest of Namaland from new distress.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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174 It may, however, be that the Korana tribes trickled on to the Orange River in small sections and that different tribes took different routes. In any case one definite conclusion emerges from a review of this mass of conflicting evidence, that, whether the Korana migrated from the Cape to the Orange River or from the Orange River to the Cape, the essential identity of the tribes cannot be a matter of doubt and that there exists between these two groups a closer relationship than between either of them and the Nama.

III. EARLY HISTORY OF THE KORANA

• 175 Those who are satisfied with Stow, to conclude, on the evidence adduced in the previous section, that the Korana were living at the Cape in the early days of the Dutch occupation, will turn naturally to the standard works of Theal, Walker and others for this early part of the history of South Africa. For those, on the other hand, who still maintain that the evidence is too slender or too conflicting to come to any definite conclusion, the history of that branch of the Hottentot nation must begin with their discovery on the Orange River.

173 On the very threshold of their history, there is a tradition of a great fight among the Korana and the Barolong. The old chief Mamoo has given a very circumstantial account of this great struggle at the Wrightbrom meeting in February 1869: "Thereupon Thow, who lived at Touws, made up a commando against the Koranas. When his commando arrived at the outposts of the Koranas, some people said it was a pleasure trip, others that it was a commando. The Koranas were at the other side of the Great River, and made up their mind to hand their slaughter sheep to Thow in token of friendliness. Then the Kafirs broke their sangain and concealed them under their karosses. They asked the Koranas who their captain was. The Koranas then went through the river to the Kafirs. They were the great-grandfathers of Mamoo and Gert Links. When they were there, the Kafirs stabbed Mamoo's great-grandfather. The Koranas fled through the river, for they were unarmed. Mamoo's great-grandfather died in the river from the wounds he received. Gert Links's great-grandfather escaped. The Korana women brought bows and arrows to the men, who took them. The whole of the Kafirs that pursued the Koranas were shot down in the river. Thow was not killed. He fled with his people, and they were scattered about. The Koranas pursued the Kafirs, and almost exterminated them altogether. But Thow survived. Thereupon the Kora-

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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ran made up a commando against Thow, and fought them at his werf and killed many of them. The Kafirs desired to know what it was that killed a man and looked like a thorn. The Korannas commando returned and Thow subsequently fell sick and died, whereupon the Korannas again made up a commando and the Kafirs resolved to escape to Sitlagolie, south of Maleque. This is the spot where the Transvaal commando fought against Moroboma in 1852. At that time the Batlapins and Barolongs did not live together. The Korannas then took Touna and the land of Thow, who was the great chief of the Kafirs."[6]

Another shorter version which Mauwe himself repeated in a document of November 1870,[7] is substantially the same. It, however, contains one or two important variants. Klaarwater, the present Griquatown, is the scene of *Taw's* treachery, and not the Orange River, which apparently the Korana had already crossed in this version. A more serious discrepancy is that here it is Mauwe's grandfather and not his great-grandfather who is murdered. The place of the next encounters between Korana and Barolong, is, more precisely, Taunga itself where, we are told, four battles were fought before *Taw* died and before the Barolong were driven to Setlagoli.

If the genealogies given by McKenzie[8] and by Molema[9] are to be trusted,—and they were confirmed by the depositions of Masi at the Bloemhof Commission,[9] in respect of the number of three generations from *Taw* to Sidipello, the date of whose death is known to be 1829,—*Taw* reigned some time in the middle of the 18th century, and that would place the battle between him and the Korana before 1750.

There is, however, no trace of these wars in the first European historian of the Korana, J. H. Wikar.[9] He had been among the Korana in the second half of the 18th century, in 1778-9, and he gives a very detailed picture of the Hottentot communities and of their activities on the Orange River. There it runs through miles of desolate country, and a desert of red sand extends right up to its banks. Beyond the Great Falls, between Kakarous and Upington,—a distance of 36 miles—there is a broad stretch of the river about two miles in width, where the water runs in innumerable channels, encircling islands large and small, over-

[6] B. C. p. 290.
[7] Lindley-Adenauria, p. 10-11.
[8] McKenzie, *Austral Africa*. I. p. 56.
[9] Molema. *The Bantu*, p. 48.
[9] B. C. p. 138.
[9] G. M. II. p. 56-158.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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● 175 grown with thick, and in some places, impenetrable bush, with a fringe of over-hanging willow trees on the water's edge. In these islands were the homes of the "Eynikoa" or River Folk, the "Namaykoa," the "Kaukoa," the "Aukokoa," stretching from island to island in six kraals of ninety-six huts altogether, that is, from 400 to 500 inhabitants, with large flocks of sheep and many cattle.

Beyond Upington, at the point where the river bends in a south-easterly direction, were the "Gysikoa," a mixed race of "Brikwa" (Bechuana) and Hottentots with the typical appearance of the Bantu, tall and blacker than the latter, and who looked upon themselves as Bechuana although they spoke both SeChwana and Korana. Thus far Wikar had not met the real Korana whom he distinguishes carefully from the first two groups. Approximately near the modern Kheis, he found the first of them, the Kouringais, with their forty-nine huts lying in a beautiful valley, under their chief, Soenop.[8] Then came the Husinghais, a very strong tribe rich in cattle.[7] Here ended Wikar's personal knowledge. As to the great or "Key Korakkoa," he had heard of them, of their power, of their six large kraals and of their situation, extending as far as where the Orange River splits into two branches, "like the fingers of the two hands," that is, where the Vaal joins it.

This last piece of information definitely shows that the *Kri !Korana*, who shall be met later as the Taaiboech tribe, had not yet in 1779 migrated further north, nor could they have been then as in later years in occupation of Taungs. One other point supports the view that there had not been as yet any decisive victory of the Korana tribes over the Barolong. Wikar tells us of the inferiority of the Bechuana as fighters, armed as they were merely with assegais. The Hottentots with their bows and arrows, would have got the better of them, were it not for their fear of Bechuana witchcraft. Wikar also puts on record that, in a cattle-stealing foray, the forefathers of the Korana had been bewitched and killed to a man by the assegais of the Bechuana.[9]

Thus it is clear that some time before Wikar's visit, the Hottentots had had a fight with the Bechuana, but the rest of the story renders improbable the alleged victory over *Tau*, or any victory at all over the Barolong in the early days of the Korana on the Orange River.

Wikar also stresses the peaceful relations of the Korana and the Bechuana in his time. Annually, the Bechuana came down from their

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[6] G. M. II. p. 116.
[7] G. M. II. p. 118.
[8] G. M. II. p. 122.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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country four days further north to the tribes living on the River to barter their wares, " pots, spoons, assegais, ornaments, etc." They had even a fixed tariff, according to which they exchanged these commodities for the cattle of the Hottentots,—a fact which proves that the practice was of long standing.[9] 175

At a later date, probably a decade after Wikar's visit, the two races do not seem to have enjoyed the same amity. About 1790 there was a series of petty wars and a good deal of cattle stealing. The Batlaping, the southernmost of the Bechuana tribes, suffered almost complete ruin. They were living then on the banks of the Nokanna, a northern tributary of the Orange River, which it meets at Kheis, and the adjoining Langebergen, the southernmost point reached by any of the Bechuana tribes, and from this part of the country were they driven by the attacks of the Korana as far north as Kuruman, which was to become their principal centre for many years after.[10]

It is not certain whether these wars had any connection with Jan Bloem. A Prussian by birth and a " desperado," as he has been aptly called, he had to flee the country, in the last part of the 18th century, on account of the murder of his wife.[11] His son, also Jan Bloem by name, gave the meeting at Wingatboom a very full record of his wanderings,[12] which is important, because, in the first place, it provides a very graphic picture of the adventurer's life in those romantic days, and because, in the second place, it helps us to fix, approximately at any rate, the date of the migration of some of the Korana tribes further north.

On his arrival on the Orange River, Jan Bloem the elder settled for some time near the Langebergen, when he married several Korana wives and appears to have become the head of the Springbok tribe of Korana. He next moved to Blinkklip, or to be more accurate with Lichtenstein and Campbell, to the place which still perpetuates his name, Jan Bloem's Fontein, two miles north of Blinkklip, whence, after gathering a motley crowd of Korana, Bechuana and Bushmen, he began a series of wars against " the black nations."[13] The advantage, which the use of firearms gave him, soon made him the terror of the district. His attack on Kuruman, which took place a few years before Truter and

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[9] G. M. II. pp. 121; 122, p. 126.

[10] Campbell, 1820, I. p. 80; 88; II. p. 171; 185; 188-190.

[11] Jahresbericht of Berlin Missionary Society, 1843, p. 50-51; Campbell 1813, p. 378-379. He makes a mistake confusing the father and the son. Stow's account of Jan Bloem, pp. 290-1, is a mere verbatim copy of Campbell.

[12] B. C. Deposition of his own son, (p. 293-294), who accompanied him in his wanderings, for he " had then already ears and eyes."

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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175 Somerville's visit in 1801, reduced the Batlaping to almost complete ruin. Threatened by Cornelius Kok, another Bastard chief, he finally trekked higher up to Lekatlong, at the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, where—the testimony of Jan Bloem proves it—he found no Korana. In this neighbourhood, to use the picturesque words of the son, his " father sowed " for two years in succession.

From the headquarters at Lekatlong, cattle forays were continued in the first year. The next year was busily spent in raising a commando against Makaba, the chief of the Barogwaketse, at the instigation of the Batlaping, with whom, as well as with his other enemies, he had made peace. He also visited, for this purpose, the Korana of Jan Taaibosch the elder, who had then migrated to the Harts River. This is the first mention of this tribe in that neighbourhood.

The expedition was disastrous. Very few cattle were captured, and Jan Bloem the elder only came back to die, some say by drinking the water of a well-poisoned by the Barogwaketse.

The movements of this remarkable man can be dated. Campbell notes in his Journal of 1813 at Jan Bloem's Fontein : " that fountain derived its name from a person who had died about fourteen years ago,"[13] and Lichtenstein passing at the same place in 1805, says : " for there had lived ten years before a colonist of that name."[14] So we have the two extreme dates—1799, the year of his death, and 1795, the year of his stay at Blinkklip. Between them is his two years' residence at Lekatlong, in the last of which, that is, in 1798 or 1799, he met Jan Taaibosch the elder. The latter could not have been in that neighbourhood before 1799 when Jan Bloem arrived there, for " my father came in the country before the Korannas," says his son specifically. This further evidence decisively negatives a good portion of Mamow's story. The old chief, we can definitely conclude, has telescoped together a series of events which it took a far greater number of years to happen.

Shortly after, the arrival of the first missionary occurred. In 1801, Rev. Anderson, of the London Missionary Society, established his first station in what is now Griqualand West. It was an event of capital importance, for it introduced new economic factors and new civilising influences. " The Corannas," he writes then, " are the most considerable people of those parts." But this was not to continue for long, for he came up, " accompanied by a number of *Bastards*."[15]

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13 Campbell, 1813, p. 168.
14 Lichtenstein, II. 342.
15 T. M. S. (1804) p. 344 and 345.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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These people were of mixed race, descended from the Dutch colonists and their Hottentot servants, who, through the northward expansion of the Colony, had been forced to the Orange River. More intelligent and more easily adaptable to European civilisation, they had, under missionary influences, taken to permanent agricultural pursuits and to a more stable form of government than the Korana. Lichtenstein, who visited with interest their numerous settlements—Leeuwenfontein, Kietfontein, Witwater, Tauboschfontein, Leeuwenkuil and Ongeluksfontein,—was impressed by their comparatively high degree of civilisation into calling them a veritable "Hottentot republic,"[16] and Campbell, in 1813, persuaded them to change the contemptuous "Bastard" for a new name, the "Griquas." 1775

This new element in the population of Griqualand, more advanced and more enterprising, pressed the more independent and irreductible Korana tribes further north and east and drove a wedge between them and the western tribes on the river, the "Hoogestanders," the "Spinnekop," whom we have met already, and the "Eynikos," of Wikar, who became all confused under the name of Korana in the time of Campbell. Those of the Korana who remained among the Griqua "for the sake of protection," as Campbell puts it in 1813, "..... are, as nearly as can be ascertained, 1341,"[17] and they still were a considerable number, according to the returns of Waterboer, in 1845.[18] They seemed to have become assimilated into the more progressive Griqua population in the course of time.

Concerning the western Korana at the beginning of the 19th century, Campbell has left some information mainly of statistical value, but unfortunately too incomplete.[19] He had a most laborious journey from Griqualand to Pella in Namaqualand across the most dreary of countries, and saw some Korana kraals amounting to a few hundred inhabitants. He does not seem to have visited that part of the Great River, between Kakamas and Upington, which, at any rate, in Wikar's day, contained most of the population.

Of the Korana who lived at the junction of the Vaal and Orange Rivers in 1778-1779, some,—the "Right Hand" tribe and the "Sorcerers," wandered to the neighbourhood of what became afterwards the Berlin Missionary Station of Bethany, and finally settled at a later

16 Lichtenstein, II. p. 301-308.
17 Campbell, 1813, p. 256
18 B. C. p. 32-33
19 Campbell, 1813, p. 273-290.

11: Maingard Q-S (1931-1932) 1932
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dam at Hebron, higher up the Vaal River, and the "springbuks" we have already seen near Lekatlong, with Jan Bloem.

The Taaibosch or *Kai !Koraua*, the most considerable of these tribes, did not migrate from the Orange River all at once. For Burchell met at Litlhakong, in July 1812, "a numerous party of Kora Hottentots . . . . from a kraal situated at a considerable distance eastward. They were conducted by the son of a *Kora* captain called *Taaibosch*. This latter was lately murdered by some Bichuanas; and the son, whose kraal was situated on the banks of the Gariep near the English ford, was now removing his father's cattle to that place,"[20] that is, precisely the original home of the *Kai !Koraua*.

In 1813, Campbell in his northern journey stopped at the kraal of the "Tybus" as he calls them, at "Malapeetse."[21] This place was in one of the kloofs leading to the Makara, the modern Dry Harts River, which joins the Harts River just below Taungs. It was very much at the same spot indicated by Burchell, east of Lekatlong. The numbers of the Koraua there were about 300 in 36 huts, with a herd of cattle numbering 2,000, and an equal number at two other stations. There was also another numerous kraal to the north-east, which would approximately correspond to the Mamusa of the later days. So that the Taaibosch tribe, the largest and most important, seem even at this early date to have been in their full numbers in their new pasture-grounds in the north.

Oukey, the sub-captain, in the absence of Taaibosch himself, mentions some interesting details regarding their history. They had been under the rule of two brothers, Links and Abby. Links was now dead and it was his people who were at Malapeetse.

In 1820, the Malapeetse Koraua had divided into three divisions. Campbell met the most numerous of them at Mokatse, still further to the north. He unfortunately does not give the name of the chief. Another division was twenty miles to the south. He did not call at Malapeetse, which was then deserted.[22]

This interesting information collected by Campbell on his two journeys definitely shows that the whole of the Taaibosch tribe was then settled in his days (1813-1820), in those parts of the country which was

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20 Burchell, I. p. 345.
21 Campbell, 1813, p. 230-234.
22 Campbell, 1820, II. p. 92-93.

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to remain their home for a long number of years, and that the Taaiboschen and the Links were then still living together.

The history of the migration of the Korana tribes, especially the Taaiboschen and the Links, tallies entirely with the traditions still current at Bloemhof. Fabali, Mainii and Trok all agreed that they had come along the Orange River, there they had had a fight with the Batlaping. It was only when they reached Taungs that the Barolong attacked them but were driven to Setlagoli. Then they lived at Taungs with the Taaiboschen, and separated from them at Manyeue. Scouts had been sent to reconnoitre the grazing and hunting possibilities of the banks of the Vaal. The Links then took their departure.

IV. HISTORY OF THE LINKS TRIBE

We have now reached the point, in the history of the northern Korana, when the Links have separated from the main body of the Taaiboschen, and we shall now follow their fortunes in their future career as a separate tribal entity. When this separation actually happened, cannot now be accurately dated, for, from the meeting of Links by Campbell in July 1813,[1] when they seemed to be still in close contact with the Taaiboschen, until 1820, when the existence of a large independent kraal of the Links on the Donkin River is disclosed by Hamma to the same official of the London Missionary Society, nothing is known of their movements. But, at any rate, it is certain that this "living off" occurred in this intervening period.

Hamma was a chief of the Links, who met Campbell on his second journey in August 1820, at Konnah on the Orange River, where the Korana was on a visit.[2] His tribe lived far away in the interior, at the junction of the Yellow and Donkin Rivers, that is, to give them their modern appellations, the Vaal and the Vet Rivers. The description given by Campbell of the "Donkin River which runs into the Yellow River, about four days' journey above its junction with the Malaleroon (i.e., the Harts River) and flows from the east" makes identification definite, for the point where the Vet River flows into the Vaal is precisely 100 miles, that is four days' journey at an average of 25 miles a day, from the junction of the Vaal and Harts Rivers, and the general direction of the Donkin from east to west also corresponds to that of the Vet River.

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[1] Campbell, 1815, p. 230-2.
[2] Campbell, 1822, II. p. 285, and Appendix iii in Vol. ii, pp. 308-330.

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The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, "contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Leghoya—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

In their periodical "treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Bloemhof,[3] but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this nefarious tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 240 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Choabep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a "bamboes" full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheidebokae, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid "trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty "packing up" of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.[4]

Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Choabep* and *Bantor*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chuboo, besides passing two or three smaller "villages."[5] This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

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[3] See Historical Texts.

[4] Broadbent, pp. 25-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Leask, Esqr. of Wolmaransstad.

[5] Broadbent, p. 89-91.

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in that district was large enough to warrant the establishment of a missionary station among them. This took place in the course of the next year when Rev. Edwards chose *Moor* as the scene of his activities. *Moor*, which, if cannot definitely be identified with the modern Bloemhof, could not, according to the indications given by Broadfoot, have been very far from it.[6] But the times were unfavourable for missionary enterprise. After the Mantatees came the Batoeng Molitsane. The Maquassie station was again attacked and destroyed and its disappearance had, as a consequence, the relinquishing of the station at *Moor*.[7] It had not lasted a complete year. The Korana, however, soon (1826), established friendly relations with Molitsane.[8]

This Batoeng chief had a remarkable personality and he seemed to have, at an early period, won the confidence of the Links Korana, and henceforth they remained his firm and constant allies, even bringing upon the tribe, through this friendship and alliance, the horrors of war. For shortly after (1829), it was the hand of the dreaded Moselekatse, the great bloodthirsty chief of the Ndebele, which was raised in vengeance against them. The details of this struggle, scattered through the depositions of various witnesses at the Bloemhof Commission, have had to be laboriously gathered and pieced together to obtain a true and complete picture.[9]

Maclabie—whose name is perpetuated in the *Mackaai* of the Western Transvaal—a Barolong chief, lived in close proximity to Sikonelle, on what is the present farm of Hartebeestfontein, west of Maquassie. He was then the subject of Moselekatse, paying his vassal dues in skins and karosses. He, too, had been attacked and robbed of his cattle by Molitsane, who, not content with spoiling the subject, presumed to steal the cattle of the great chief Moselekatse. Molitsane had then his principal kraal, where the Links had been in 1820, at the junction of the Vet and Vaal Rivers, and as he retired with his spoil to his huts, Moselekatse followed, after joining his impis with Maclabie's men. Hot in pursuit of the robber chief, they passed the Vaal, drove him headlong, along with the fighting force of the Links, across the northern plains of the Free

[6] Broadfoot, on his return journey to England, took approximately 2 days from Maquassie Station to *Moor* and he mentions it as being close to the Vaal, pp. 122-125.

[7] R.W.M.M.S. 1824, p. 66; 1825, pp. 38-39.

[8] R.W.M.M.S. 1826, p. 193.

[9] B.C. Depositions of Maclabie, p. 262-5; Magaal p. 326-328; Johannes Hendrik Visser, p. 249; Masson, p. 291; Johannes Links, p. 292; Jan Pienaar, p. 347; Nicholas Kruger, p. 350.

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State, until they hurled Moshesh and the Links over the Modder River. A great battle took place just beyond, at Spitz Kop near the modern Bloemfontein. Moshesh had divided the stolen cattle in two parts; those which he had directed upon Spitzkop were recaptured by his enemies.

Johannes Hendrik Visser, a Colonial Boer who was in the habit of "trekking" yearly over the Great River with his flocks and herds, has left a graphic picture of the scene of horror and desolation which met his eyes when, shortly after—in July 1829—a young boy of sixteen, he happened to be on the field of battle. "The following morning we rode with Esterhuizen, who pointed out the spot where the Stinkhoutspruit empties itself into the Modder River and from there threequarters of an hour on horseback to a single hill on the west side of the spruit and where we saw bodies of men, women and children by the hundreds. I did not know the tribes at that time, but they were the same dress as the Barolongs, Batlapins and Bushmen kafir do at the present day. I examined hundreds of bodies, all of which had been killed by assegais and the only live person I saw was a young boy sitting alongside of a woman and which (sic) Stoffel Visser took home on horseback by order of the field-cornet. According to the track the Commando had retraced its steps through to the same drift." No doubt, if Visser had known more about the tribes, he would have recognised some faithful allies of Moshesh—the Links,—among the dead.

Moshesh himself was then attacked by Adam Kok, the Griqua chief of Philippolis, and his power finally broken. He will, however, appear at a later date, again as the ally and friend of the Links.

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The Links, who had played a part in the battle of Spitzkop, belonged to the younger generation of the tribe, and among them was the chief's son, Johannes Links. The older people had remained where the kraals were then, at the junction of the Sand and Vet Rivers. The tribe seems to have remained dispersed for some time, as, in 1835, Rev. Wuras, of the Berlin Mission Station of Bethany, found Abraham Links with several large kraals in the same neighbourhood.[10] It is certain that the Bloemhof district had ceased to be occupied by them until 1841.

During the intervening period (1829-1841) there had been events of the first importance in the history of South Africa. The Great Trek had taken place and the "emigrant Boers," to use the official designation of the documents of the English Government, had appeared on the scene

[10] E. M. B. 1836, p. 176 ff.

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of a country, which, previous to 1836, had only seen few white men, chiefly missionaries and a few occasional Colonial Boers, like Viman, who crossed the Orange River in search of winter pasture. In what is now the Bloemhof district, Dutch hunters in large parties would appear to pursue the plentiful game—springbok, blesbuck and wildebeest—which then swarmed on the banks of the Vaal. Such were Wynand Carl Bezuidenhout and Johannes Ludovicus Pretorius—two of the original "voortrekkers." Bezuidenhout, a Free Stater, had travelled up the Vaal River from the point of its junction with the Harts River as far as the ruins of the old Wesleyan Mission Station in the Maquassie Berges in 1837, on a hunting expedition. He had crossed the Vaal at the drift just below Bloemhof. In all the distance he had travelled, he had met with nobody,—Korana or Bantu or White man,—except two Bushmen.[13] The country was uninhabited. A year later, Pretorius went in the opposite direction, from Sand River in the Free State, to the Salt Pan, below Bloemhof, to fetch salt and to hunt. Neither he nor any one of his large party found "any occupants but an old Bastard near the Vet River."[14] As late as 1840, Daumas, the French missionary of Makwasling, in the Free State, travelling on a visit to the French missionary station of Motito in Bechuanaland, met, along the lower course of the Vet River, and through the Bloemhof district, only a few Bushmen and Griquas.[15] Such had been the result of the sanguinary wars of Mzilekatze and the fear inspired by his name continued long after to exercise its spell. Thus also it is an established fact that the Links had for the whole length of this period kept away from their former pasture grounds along the Vaal River between Christiana and Maquassie Spruit.

In 1841, we first hear of them again in the neighbourhood of Bloemhof. In November or December of that year, a "smous," that is an itinerant trader, Piet de la Rey, with the lumbering ox-wagon carrying his stock-in-trade, slowly and laboriously made his way from the Free State through the Bloemhof drift to his Native customers at Taungs. On the road, he outspanned at the Saltpan. A kraal of Korana resided there, "under Abraham Lynx and also his sons Gert and Johannes Lynx."[16] They had returned to their old home and their movements are further confirmed by the traditions now extant among the Bloemhof Korana.

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[13] B. C. p. 237-238.
[14] B. C. p. 198.
[15] J. D. Missions Evangeliques, 1841, p. 16-17 and map.
[16] B. C. 253.

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For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Salyan and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the Salyan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

Saron—that was its name—was founded in June, 18[illegible], by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Barlaping under Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,600.[16] This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Saron itself, Gert Harrip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.[17] Further to the east, along the Bamboes Spruit, a southern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Oswen,[18] and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Korana in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to[19] the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Ross, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the natives nearly deserted.[20]

Old Harrip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years, had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.[21] He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

Nor were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only difficulty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the

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[16] B. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.
[17] B. M. R. 1853, p. 80.
[18] B. M. R. 1853, p. 81.
[19] B. M. R. years 1848-1854.
[20] B. M. R. 1850, p. 202.
[21] B. M. R. 1853, p. 84.

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Taaibosch threatened the destruction of the station. Gert Taaibosch was then the chief of the Korana of Nieuweland where he, in company with his brother Hans, the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell and the Barolong of Moroko, had migrated from Platberg in 1834. In 1849, he and his friend Sikonyela fell foul of Moshesh, the great Basotho chief, and Moletsane. The latter has already appeared in this story, as the friend and ally of the Links and, in fact, at the time of the attack of Taaibosch was in possession of some cattle of the Links. The victorious Taaibosch made no distinction in the property of the cattle, but took all he could get. When Hermanus of Smous heard the news, he was naturally disturbed and was for immediate war, but Schmidt persuaded him to apply for redress to Major Warden, the British resident at Bloemfontein. This he did, and obtained a letter directing the restoration of the Links cattle. Before, however, this could be used, the Links had already fallen upon the Taaibosch, who were on their way to Potiel on the Vaal River and recovered their cattle besides killing some of the men of Taaibosch, who vowed vengeance. Thanks, however, to the mediation of the missionaries, nothing serious resulted from this episode.[8]

A further loss of ten waggons during an attack by Major Warden on Moletsane at Mekwetling in September 1850 exasperated the Links, who until then had remained neutral. It drove them—Moletsane himself at a later date assigned this as a reason for their action—to rank themselves on the side of the Batuang chief at the battle of Viervoet (June 30th 1851), which ended so disastrously for Warden and his Native allies, among whom were Jan Taaibosch, Jan Bloem and Goliath. One of its consequences was a series of cattle forays by the Links under the leadership of adventurers like Van der Kolf. These events have their echo in the Berichte of the Berlin Mission, which show their disturbing effect on the Links.[9]

In the meantime, other occupants had appeared. Matlabane, who has already been mentioned, and his BaMairi did not trouble the Links to any great extent. In fact, he himself, and possibly a number of his subjects, had Korana blood in their veins, and in accordance with the custom not unknown among the Batlaping chiefs, he had married a Korana wife, the daughter of Gert Links, so that, when, in 1846, he came to his father-in-law, the permission to occupy grazing land was

[8] B. M. B. 1850, p. 191; 1851-6.

[9] Bas. Rec. I. pp. 205, 414, 481; Imperial Bluebook—no Number—May 1853, p. 18; B. M. B. 1851. pp. 18, 21, 202, 220; 1852, note on pp. 3-5; pp. 103, 106.

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readily granted.[89] BaMairi and Links seem to have lived in peace beside each other.

But a more serious menace to the free movements of the Korana, their flocks and herds, over vast stretches of the country, and the consequent impossibility of their time-honoured, but wasteful methods of grazing, was the gradual spread of the white occupation from the "Voortrekker" centres in the east into what is now Western Transvaal. In 1849 the farm "Jakhalsfontein" beyond the Maquassie Spruit, was already occupied by J. G. Jansen van Vuuren.[90] In 1850, Jacobs was farming on the site of Bloemhof itself.[91] In 1851-2 the old Barolong chief, Mackabie, on removing from the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom to Taungs, found "Boers . . . living down all along the Vaal River on both sides and had houses."[92] H. Lambert Jacobs who knew the district well, adds "at that time a great many squatters were moving about with their cattle, also some in this direction to the Saltpan's drift and above that. A person named Barclay lived at Bloemhof and had a reed house."[93]

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Events in the political world had a great share in inducing the Korana to seek fresh pastures. The dispersal of the London Society Mission at Mabotsa and Livingstone's station at Kolobeng, the news of which reached Saron early in 1852; the proclamation of the Sovereignty beyond the Orange River in 1848; the war between the Boers and the English and the battle of Boomplaats; and the final abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in 1854 had an unsettling effect on the mind of the Links tribe.[94] Wild rumours of the advance of Boer Commandos on Saron became current and were probably based on the official notice that "the district line was proclaimed provisionally up to the Harts River."[95] But the immediate cause of the break-up of the Saron Mission Station was a visit paid to it by President Pretorius in February 1854, with the object of inducing the Batlaping chieftains Mahura and Gasibone to meet him at the Saltpan to discuss the land question. This they refused to do. During his five days' stay, he was highly pleased with the missionaries. Before he left, he took the

[89] B. C. p. 291-3.
[90] B. C. p. 257.
[91] B. C. p. 324.
[92] B. C. p. 263, and 265.
[93] B. C. p. 323.
[94] B. M. B. 1848-1854.
[95] B. C. 325.

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opportunity of reprimanding Gert Links for his lukewarmness in supporting the Station, and brought upon himself the answer that the missionaries were no good to the Korana people. A request from the Boers that they should be allowed free access to the Saltpan to gather salt—a request which the Korana refused—must have further roused their dissatisfaction and their suspicion. The President had hardly left, when rumours went round that a strong commando against them was on the march; "now that Pretorius has been here," said the Korana, "and that he has won our land, we must go." On the 1st and 2nd March, the Links forsook Seven for the Nieuweland at the foot of the Basutoland Mountains, where their ally, Moletsane, was living. The Station was at an end and Johann Schmidt spoke bitter words about the ingratitude of the Links.[89]

In the meantime Matlabane had taken such firm possession of the land that his name is perpetuated in the farm "Matlabanestad," along the north bank of the Vaal, and his power was so unquestioned even by the Boers, that one of them, Engelbrecht, in return for his services to him, as Veldcornet, was granted a farm in the district by the BaMairi chief in 1865.[90]

The Links seem to have settled down for a time in Nieuweland, but not for long. In 1858, during the disturbances consequent upon the Boer war against Gasibone, subjects of Hermanus Links seem to have wandered down the Vet River once again, for they were then residing at its junction with the Vaal.[91] Native tradition at Bloemhof, throws further light on this obscure period of the history by tracing their migration at that time one step further to the farm "Nooitgedacht" on the Free State side of the Vaal, at a point nearly opposite Bloemhof. It is, however, certain that in October 1864, the traveller Anderson outspanned, just below Bloemhof near "a large Korana station" . . . and he received "the visit of the whole kraal. . . about 70 in all."[92] Dr. Holub, the Austrian traveller and scientist, visiting Holwater, a farm adjoining the Saltpan in 1871, records that "it was virtually under the authority of the Korana at Mamusa" and "soon after his visit the White people took their departure and left the collection of the salt to the Koranas," and four years later, he finds "a good many Koranas" still at the Saltpan.[93]

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[89] B. M. B. 1854, pp. 162-5.
[90] B. C. 215.
[91] B. C. 289.
[92] Anderson. *Twenty-five years in a waggon*, p. 51.
[93] Holub, E. *Seven years in South Africa*, I. p. 105.

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175 During the absence of the Links in the Nieuweland and other parts of the Free State, the discovery of the diamond fields at Kimberley and along the banks of the Vaal River, had considerably enhanced the value of the territories which until then had been occupied by the Natives. England, the Free State and even the Transvaal Republic were all laying claim to their possession. Colonel Warren had been sent by the Imperial Government to settle boundaries between the Griqua chief Waterboer and the Free State in 1877. A Commission sat at Bloemhof in 1871, to settle the land claims between the Transvaal Republic and the Native chiefs, but had been unable to come to any decision. In October of the same year, Lieutenant Governor Keate, on the evidence gathered at Bloemhof, had made his "Award," which the Transvaal had consistently refused to recognise. The Links people had then returned to their old pasture-grounds in the "disputed territory," or, as it was sometimes called "the Keate Award," under conditions differing vastly from those under which they had left and when they applied in 1876 to Pniel for a missionary,[86] perhaps it was with the remembrance of what the Berlin Missionary Society had done in the past in maintaining the integrity of their territory. Rev. Kallenberg, who was in charge of the station at Pniel, travelled to the Saltpan and finally strongly recommended that the request be granted. Before a new missionary could come, Kallenberg looked after the Links at Saron, but Col. Lanyon evidently objected to his activities, for he had to warn him. Matters were proceeding fast. In the issue of the Kimberley paper, the *Diamond News* of the 5th November 1878, there appeared a proclamation signed by Hermanus Links and his councillors, laying claim "to certain large tracts of land in the Bloemhof district."[86] Col. Warren, who had been appointed Commissioner for the settlement of land claims, and also Col. commanding the troops in the Bloemhof district, was then on duty at Mamusa. He immediately summoned Hermanus Links, who appeared before him and repudiated the proclamation in a solemn declaration, because "these were not his words." He had not had it explained before signing it, nor did he make any claims to any lands.[86] In December of the same year, Missionary Brune arrived to take charge of the new Saron Mission.[87]

175 Warren, in January 1879, directed Best, the Landdrost at Christiana, to request both Kallenberg and Brune to leave Saron. Kallenberg had

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[84] Wangemann. *Süd-Afrika und seine Bewohner*. Vierter Aufsatz, p. 24.
[85] Imperial Blue Book, C. 2454-'79. p. 33.
[86] Ibid. p. 34.
[87] Wangemann, op. cit. p. 44.

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already done so, but Bruce flatly refused. In the meantime Warren had had an interview with Kallenberg in Kimberley.[39] There had been some serious differences already between the two men. Warren had had to adjudicate in the matter of the Point mission lands two years previously and had commented on the attitude of Warren and Kallenberg towards the Korana in no measured terms.[40] Hence probably the inevitable reaction. It was a stormy interview during which Kallenberg became excited and violent, invoking the influence of the Society at the Court of Berlin and threatening to write at once to the Secretary of State in London. Warren seems merely to have reminded him of his position, as the one responsible for the peace in a country under military occupation. Kallenberg at a later stage retreated from his position, and apologised.[41]

News of a serious nature now reached Warren in Kimberley. The Links had used force at the Saltpan to resist an officer of the peace sent to arrest one of their number for stock theft. Warren immediately proceeded to Christiana, where Mr. Bruce and Hermanus Links arrived the next day to be examined. There Bruce maintained his position that he was living under an independent Native chief and not under the British Government, but he retracted subsequently and was allowed to go on parole to the hotel, previous to going to Kimberley. Hermanus Links could assign no reason for his resistance, though at one point, he blamed Bruce, but afterwards recanted. That night Col. Warren had to leave Kimberley owing to grave intelligence of signs of disturbance among the Natives, and he left the duty of disarming the Korana at the Saltpan in the hands of Major Rolleston.[42]

What happened after Warren's departure is told in the Report of Capt. Poole.[43] Mr. Bruce is said to have broken his parole "on hearing of the Zulu disaster," and proceeded to the Saltpan. He is held responsible for the subsequent loss of life. Major Rolleston carried out his instructions on the Sunday afternoon with a mixed force of mounted police and volunteers. The Korana posted on the ridge above the Saltpan, were prepared to fight. On being called upon to lay down their arms, they took no notice, but retired into the bush. Major Rolleston, to show his peaceful intentions, rode among them unarmed, at the risk

39 Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83. Report of Colonel Warren on the Affairs of Bechuanaland, p. 5.

40 Imperial Blue Book—No number, Report on the land question of Griqualand West—Report No. 35, p. 81 ff.

41 Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635, already quoted.

42 Imperial Blue Book, C. 2316-'79, p. 71. ff; See especially p. 72.

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of his life. A Korana fired into his face and missed him. His men, however, having strict orders not to fire, did not retaliate. The Korana, however, perceiving that they were caught in the rear by another body of mounted police, and on being assured that they would not be fired at, proceeded to lay down their arms, which amounted to fifty loaded guns. A search was then made through the huts, but Mr. O'Reilly, being wounded in the arm, shot a Korana. The men then started to skirmish through the bush to clear it. At this point Mr. Swart of Christiana was shot dead. All the able-bodied Koranas were made prisoners, and, together with the cattle, taken to Christiana. Sufficient cattle were left at Saron for the infirm, women and children. Mr. Brune had also been arrested and conveyed by cart to Christiana and thence to Kimberley.

A great deal of controversy has taken place around this question.[48] Brune himself protested vigorously against the motives assigned to him in the official report published in the local press. In the version here given, which is the official English version, the part which is the direct report of Warren, has been carefully distinguished from the one which is Poole's. It will be noticed that in the first part—that is Warren's—there is no imputation of base motives to anyone. Warren was a fair, clean and honourable opponent. He blames Kallenberg or rather, he paints the interview in its true colours, but, if Kallenberg was violent, there is not a word of reproach against the man. As to Poole's report, although Warren, by including it in his own almost word for word, seems to endorse it, for he probably felt he had to support his officers, that part of the story assumes quite a different tone, and when it is read in conjunction with Brune's letter of protest, in the "*Independent*" of Kimberley, February 1879,[49] it is a matter for wonder whether all the accusations levelled in it against Brune can be substantiated. What Poole stigmatises as the breach of a man's word of honour Brune ascribes merely to his imperfect knowledge of English. He had just arrived in the country and there may have been some doubts in his mind, in spite of the fact that O'Reilly and Krause explained the position to him.[49] There is therefore no substantial reason to doubt his word. Again, Brune protests against the innuendo that he made use of the information about the Zulu disaster. Here again there is no reason to doubt him. If one may venture an opinion, it is that possibly Kallenberg's advice to Brune had been unjudicious. Brune himself had told Warren that Kallenberg

[48] Letters of Brune and O'Reilly in the Kimberley paper "the Independent" in Imperial Blue Book, C. 2116-'79, p. 72-74 and p. 74-75. C. p. Wangemann op. cit. p. 24-25.

[49] Letters already quoted in foregoing note.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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had induced him to believe that Hermanus Links was not under the English jurisdiction.[44] An impartial Court of Justice would certainly dismiss most of the major counts against Bruno as "not proven."

On the other hand, Warren had to take strong measures, because he was in possession of undeniable proof of communication between the Zulus, the Bechuana and the Korana. In fact, in his despatches and reports to the Governor of the Cape, he mentions very precise cases of emissaries from the Zulus whom he had stopped on their way to the Barolong and David Massow, who were on the brink of a revolt.[45] It can therefore safely be concluded that the whole affair was the result of a series of misunderstandings from which, however, the Links were the chief sufferers. Caught in the vortex of our modern civilisation and involved in questions they could not understand, that luckless people lost their home, their all, and were dispersed, some going to Christiana, some to Bloemhof, some to Mamusa, only a few remaining at the Saltpan under Willem van Eck. The latter finally removed to Bloemhof, where they still are.[46]

V. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The Korana texts here published are divided into two parts: (A) Historical texts; and (B) Ethnographical texts. The information they contain was obtained from the oldest among the Korana resident in the Bloemhof location who have been already described in the introduction.

The Historical texts are given without any commentary, as their most important points have been already embodied in the historical sections which open the present studies. On the other hand, the Ethnographical texts are accompanied by short notes by which it is hoped that their interest and value will be increased.

All these texts are in the Korana language, except three. The most important of these latter is the first series of historical texts given to me by my informants, partly in English and partly in Korana. I unified the language, keeping some of the relevant Korana words. In another important section, that on "Terms of Relationship," which is not properly a text, I for obvious reasons, had to explain them in English. One very short section, that on "Games," was thought to be more con-

[44] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6.
[45] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6-7 and C. 2316-'79, p. 70-71.
[46] Wangemann, *Ein zweite Reisejahr in Süd-Afrika*, p. 77-81.